-2: Henry E-5 (1932-1934) 1941
SM3 Caingang SM3
Aweikoma

to his wife, kicking Klendó in the ear and overturning Amendó's pot in his semi-somnambulism. All of this makes ethnology terribly difficult, for it is hard to be sure that the dark mass you had decided was Yakwá an hour ago isn't Voemblé or just the shadow of the house post now. 513

Kaingáng camp sites are any shape at all. Level ground is rare and what there is is so irregular that the Indians have to distribute themselves about it in the most economical way possible. But they will never sleep on any kind of slope, and if a particular patch of level ground is just a little too small for a family they may build it up by throwing some dirt on a foundation of leaves. When a woman sits down, lays her firebrand on the ground, piles wood on it, and begins to nurse her baby, it is pretty certain that camp will be made right there. No woman sits down without deliberation, for where she sits she stays, and where she stays she and her husband will sleep. Nothing can dislodge her, and no one will dare to suggest that she move over. It is a matter of complete indifference to her that the spot she has picked out may be such that a large family will have to break up in order to conform to her choice. 361 562

After she has nursed her baby, eaten a few nuts, and perhaps put the pot on to boil she gets up and cleans the ground, pushing the surface litter back for a pillow, chopping out the protruding roots, scraping and leveling until it is "clean." Then off she goes for ferns to cover the site, sometimes walking half a mile to get the exact kind she wants. When this is all done the camp looks inviting, but next day, after fifty bare feet have walked, run, fought, or toddled over it and the soup has been spilled, it is untidy and dirty. By the end of a week, if they should stay so long, dirt has piled up around the camp—nut shells, pieces of animal hides, fruit skins, bones, palm-shoot shells, wasp's nests from which the larvae have been taken and eaten, basket splints, and human and animal offal—and the place has a repellent odor. 364

The Kaingáng are awake an hour before dawn. The young men lie huddled together under their blankets, sometimes five or six of them in a row, chattering and laughing, while the married men shout across from their beds with their wives and someone perhaps lies singing quietly to himself. At last a fire is stirred and a woman or a child goes for water. By dawn the pots are on the fire, and the campers are beginning to shake the stiffness out of their bodies. Perhaps some young woman still lies lazily nursing her child while her young husband sits on her feet to keep them warm. Men begin to take down their bows and bend them against their legs, and arms like wrestlers' swell and bend as the bows are drawn. A famished dog yelps as its owner beats it for stealing food; a woman growls at her child in mild, helpless anger as it defecates in camp. The men circulate around while the women sit quietly nursing their children or eating. 512

2: Henry E-5 (1932-1934) 1941
SM3 Caingang SM3
Awe:koma

224 I have never seen a deer killed except in this way. It is child's play and was obviously learnt from the whites.[8] In the old days they were killed only by stalking or through a sudden encounter in the forest. They are rarely mentioned in folklore. After deer the pig-like *tatetí* is the next largest game animal. I never heard of its being stalked, and the *tatetí* that were taken during my stay among the Kaingáng were all killed cooperatively. Dogs drove them into their burrows, and a number of men combined to get them out. One day my dogs drove a *tatetí* into a burrow on the side of a hill; while one man shoved into the burrow a bundle of flaming bamboo on the end of a long pole the others stood around with loaded guns, and when the beast emerged it was shot. Sometimes men wait above the entrance to the burrow and club the *tatetí* when it emerges.

Peccary hunting I know only by hearsay. Although a couple of troops of peccary (called "pig of the forest" by the settlers) passed by while I was among the Kaingáng I took no part in their pursuit. The Indians, however, tell me that they surround and shoot them or stab them with knives on the ends of poles. Sometimes, however, they are pursued by one man alone. They are very dangerous animals when brought to bay, and it is well to keep one's distance. Formerly peccary were an important item of Kaingáng diet, but nowadays they have grown scarce in the vicinity of Duque de Caxias and are not found even far up the river. "*Nggĩyãdn* has become angry with us," the Indians say, "and has closed up the pigs in his corral."

223 The Kaingáng have no bird snares, and all birds are shot individually with the bow and arrow where they are encountered.

Subsistence Figures

262 146a The following discussion is based on the data which I collected during a five weeks' hunting trip into the forests with the Indians. During that time it was possible for me to keep a fairly accurate check on the distribution of meat because the population was concentrated in one spot, and the entire organization of the camp was directed toward getting meat for everyone. Conditions at the post, however, are quite different. There the 361 population is scattered along a half-mile trail and on both sides of the river, and it is therefore impossible to keep a day-to-day check even were such a check valuable—which I doubt, for in the region of the post game is ex-

[8] Waiting in a canoe for animals to fall into the river seems hardly removed from waiting at the tumbrousus of or along a *corredor*—a further suggestion that the entire technique was taken over from the settlers. The agent used to tell me: "When I first came into this region all you had to do was turn your dogs loose in the forest, and the animals would come tumbling into your canoe."

2: Henry E-5 (1932-1934) 1941

SM3 Caingang SM3
Aweikoma

Distribution of Population

At the time of their pacification the Kaingáng were distributed on both sides of the Rio Plate within, at the most, three or four days' journey on foot from the pine forest. It is impossible to determine through questioning exactly what determined the movements of all of one extended family under conditions of minimum tension. It was not exclusively food. If it were we would expect all of the members of the family around the Rio Plate to have gone to the pine forest in the fall. But only certain groups would go. Within the extended families the movements were determined quite as much by the desire to attack or the necessity of fleeing from the Brazilians and the wish to look for one another as by the quest for food.

Fruit and Insect Foods

Other Fruit and Roots

While I was among the Kaingáng wild fruits were not important. They either gather fruit when it falls to the ground, climb up after it, or chop the tree down.

I never heard of the Kaingáng using any roots for food.

Wasps and Bees

We can see the wasps buzzing about the opening to their nest twenty feet above the ground in a huge tree that looks as if it were made of three trees grown together. The trunk forms a kind of cavern, and when we step inside we see that the part in which the wasps have built their nest is hollow all the way up. We collect wood and build a big fire at the base of the trunk, and the smoke rises as if up a chimney. We build another fire outside the trunk so that the wasps will not come down to annoy us. As the smoke pours out of the opening to the nest the wasps come with it, and soon there is a hum like a buzzsaw as thousands of wasps buzz about the entrance to their nest. When my two companions are convinced that the wasps have been completely evicted they take axes and go to work on the tree. When it at last crashes the nest has fallen through an arc of twenty-foot radius. No wasps are in sight now, but a fire is set on top of the tree near the nest to keep any chance wanderers away. Again the axes cut, and soon the structure of the nest has been laid bare: tier on tier of cells full of larvae and pupae. We take out the layers of the paperlike structure and in our hunger eat the contents raw. They are sweet, rich, and juicy. Now we build small fires and lay the cells against them to roast. Having eaten my fill, I receive no more. The two Indians divide the nest, the one who discovered it getting the larger share.

262 They acquired the habit of eating chrysalids and larvae of all kinds, especially the maggot found in rotting wood [coró] which they eat raw as well as roasted, or cooked on the fire inside a bamboo sprout. Then necessity turned into habit; although the need no longer remains, the Indians continue to seek out chrysalids and larvae as refined changes of diet.

224 When the warriors are gone for long periods of time, the women catch small game by means of snares and traps, for they do not wield any weapons.

226 Curiously enough, the Botocudo are not familiar with fishing, even in its most primitive form, though rivers abounding with fish are to be found in their area.

262 177 Before the time of peaceful contact, they were already familiar with maize, squash and manioc flour, which they obtained in the course of their raids on civilized communities. But they were altogether unfamiliar with potatoes, the manioc tuber, beans, rice, yams, the taro root, etc., which they have since come to know and which they greatly value.

342 The Botocudo set up their shelters by driving slender stakes close together into the ground. [122] These sticks are bent in the shape of a bow, and their tip secured to a heavy horizontal rod which is usually fastened in two trees at the height of a man. The resulting dome-shaped roof is covered with palm leaves, brush, or ferns. A lateral area of about one meter is always left open to permit observation toward the rear and thus avoid any surprises. The fire is lit on the exposed side of the shelter, and the Indians watch over it continually to make sure that it does not go out.

Each of these huts is utilized by a single family.

[261] The shelters are lined evenly in parallel groups of two to eight huts which together form a camp.

When circumstances such as celebrations or the Araucaria seed harvest compel them to remain in the same place for a longer period of time, they build their huts with greater care and make them larger. Two shelters are built face to face and their roofing connected so that the curved sticks are secured to each other instead of being fastened to a horizontal rod. This results in a perfect vault. Each of these enlarged